613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 61 The evidence of Izraatsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izraatsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

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[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

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[Altai Kazakhs]

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I	Naiman	VIII	Cletulu
II	Ergenekti	IX	Kuldja-Bai
III	Kekzhardy	X	Otunchu
IV	Karatai	XI	Biuydakan
V	Bormoby	XII	Emu
VI	Sargaldak	XIII	Cham
VII	Sary	XIV	M. Chamov

This is a genealogy stripped down to bare essentials: Ergenekti is made out to be the son of Naiman, and not his great-grandson, as in the preceding genealogy; moreover he is represented as the only son. The genealogy[1] [801] covers in a stylized manner fourteen generations--the ritual number--and it asserts the claim of the genealogist, M. Chamov, to direct senior patrilineal descent from the eponymous clan founder. The claim to direct senior descent from Naiman is not made, for it had become meaningless; M. Chamov's genealogy must be regarded as a stripped-down genealogy, made to validate a claim to that alone which had remained socially relevant. But even a claim to seniority in descent from Ergenekti was not the primary concern; rather it was the seniority of one of the lineages comprising the Ergenekti clan which was at issue. The founder of this lineage, in the tenth ascending generation from the genealogist, was Karatai. Now the recorder of the genealogy was the great Turkologist Samoilovich, who proposed therewith to correct

[1] [i.e. of the Ergenekti clan of the Naiman; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 527, p. 524ff. -- Analyst]